1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

835 cousins of all degrees, all other persons of the same generation being considered eligible and being called according to sex, takano (female cross cousin) and iyao (term for male cross cousin). As a matter of actual fact, intercourse does take place between members of the incest group occasionally. If it is known to the community as a whole, ridicule results, but I learned of no formal religious sanctions for the incest rule. Breaking of the incest tabu is frowned upon; it is considered unlucky and also nasty and indecent. Almost any sort of ill luck and sickness may result from incest, and this the piaiyen may attempt to cure, although his treatments are not considered highly efficacious for such cases. But if an individual wishes to take the chance, the other members of the community will only laugh at him or regard him as singularly foolhardy. A widower, residing in Haiari settlement, was said to be sleeping with his daughter during the entire time I was in the region. The case of a man from Ianna settlement, who was said to be sleeping with his mother, was frequently related. In each of these cases it was commented that the individuals in question were behaving "like dogs," but they were not ostracised or punished in any physical manner.

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584 As time goes on, a young man feels that it is time he settled down to family life. He usually has developed a liking for some particular girl, whom he revisits frequently at her father's house, and in whose house he finally becomes a guest of long standing. The girl's relatives usually, after some time, raise the question of the seriousness of his intentions, and he finally speaks to her father, asking the older man to give him his daughter. In other cases, a young man may ask a father for a daughter the first time he sees her. In either case, if the match is approved, the old man requires that the suitor build a house and cut a field in the bride's settlement, feats which are regarded as testing not only the seriousness of the suitor's intentions, but also his ability as a homemaker. During the time required for the accomplishment of these tasks, the suitor lives in his future father-in-law's house, enjoying the favors of the girl. It is obvious that sex is a minor consideration in marriage. When the house and field are completed, the young couple prepare to move in and settle down. The groom must pass one more test, however. While the bride prepares drink for a spree which will be given at the house warming, the groom goes

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of personal ownership, no member of the group is allowed to go in want. In all activities there is much sharing of property. It is distinctly understood, however, that all such sharing takes the form of giving and receiving, or of lending and borrowing. Anyone, therefore, who makes use of goods clearly not his own, without making a suitable arrangement with the rightful owner, is guilty of theft.

Adultery[1] is intercourse with the recognized mate of another individual. Personal attentions on the part of a man to a married woman are punished as adultery because they have but one meaning to a native. However, dalliance with an unattached girl is not considered adultery.

In the first two of these offenses intent, contrary to the practise of some primitive tribes, plays an important part. Accidental homicide and accidental poisoning, if the case is clear, do not call for satisfaction. Regarding sorcery, theft, and adultery, it is almost impossible for the Carib mind to conceive of the commission of these acts without malicious intent.

The Carib philosophy on the matter of intent, stated in our terms, follows the reasoning that accidents are to be classed along with that whole group of natural incidents which are often injurious and inconvenient to human beings. The causes, however, are spiritual or supernatural, and the results are due to transgression, perhaps unconscious, of a tabu. If a man kills or poisons another through accident, he is merely acting as unconscious agent of the spiritual powers who constitute the effective agent and cannot be punished. Personal antagonism, in such a case, is eliminated, the solidity of the group is unaffected, and retaliation has no function. But when a man commits an offense of his own

[1] Adultery was introduced after white contact among the Caribs of the islands, according to Rochefort. Says he, "Heretofore they knew not how to punish this crime, because it reigned not among them before their commerce with the Christians; but now if the husband surprises his wife prostituting herself to some other or have otherwise any certain knowledge of it, he does himself justice, and seldom pardons her, but dispatches her, sometimes with his club, sometimes by ripping up her belly from above downward with a razor or the tooth of an agouti, which is nearly as sharp. This execution being done, the husband goes to his father-in-law and tells him in cold blood, 'I have killed thy daughter, because she proved unfaithful to me'. The father thinks the action so just that he is so far from being angry with him, that he commends him, and conceives himself obliged. 'Thou hast done well,' replies he, 'she deserved no less.' And if he hath any more daughters to dispose of he immediately proffers him one of them, and promises to bestow her on him at the first opportunity." de Rochefort, 1658, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale*, pp. 548–549, quoted in Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, pp. 561–562.

In early times on the Orinoco, according to Gumilla, all recognized adultery, "notably when women commit it, but the Carib is the only nation which has a punishment fixed for adulterers, who are put to death by the whole village populace in the public place." Gumilla, 1791, *Historia natura, civil y geografica de las naciones situadas en las riveras del Rio Orinoco*, Vol. I, p. 132, quoted in Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 562.

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tion room made of palm leaves. Here the practitioner calls the spirit which is harming his patient. He tells the spirit that it must desist, otherwise he will call the tiger spirit, which will devour the offending spirit. The theory of the above described shooting process is this. Although the piaiyen is spoken of as shooting his victim, he ceases to be the active agent once he has convoked a spirit. The stones which are projected are used by the spirits in the same way in which arrows are used by human beings. The piaiyen is a passive agent at the service of the spirit.

Direct personal retribution for an offense may be used in cases where the culprit is caught red-handed. If a man surprises another committing adultery with his wife, immediate violence will be the result. Fists, cutlasses, bows and arrows, or guns will be employed. A good many petty grievances also come to blows, usually disputes arising during cassiri sprees. When a man is sober, he prefers to seek satisfaction in a more secret manner. It sometimes happens that, as a result of a fight, two settlements are officially at odds with one another; members of the respective settlements are forbidden by a consensus of opinion to have anything to do with those of the other. In case a member of one settlement transgresses this prohibition and enters into friendly relations with the other group, the headman of his own group may attempt to use either oral or physical coercion to enforce conformity.

Perhaps the most interesting of the forms of personal retribution is kanaima, a cult which is found among practically all of the Indians of the Guianas.[1]

If all other means of obtaining redress have failed, a man may decide to become a kanaima. This is a very serious step because it means that he must leave family and friends, must undergo extreme privations and social ostracism, must devote all his life and energies to the accomplishment of his purpose. The facts concerning this strange cult are difficult to determine because I have not succeeded in interviewing any individual who would admit having been a kanaima. This indicates that membership in the kanaima cult is itself an offense, while on the other hand it may be used as a path to punishment. The beliefs and attitudes concerning the cult are, however, herewith briefly set forth.

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, Chap. 18. Farabee, 1924, *The Central Caribs*.